

RIPON FORUM

MAY 1968

VOL. IV, No. 5

ONE DOLLAR

Galloping Reaganism

Fifteen months ago, under the title Creeping Reaganism, we reported the beginnings of Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign. Now the California governor, having carefully paced his public appearances, is racing to head Richard Nixon off at the pass. With a blitz of T.V., a rush of speaking engagements and the stirring cry of "Hi-ho Salvatori," Reagan rides into Oregon. His goal: to demonstrate enough public support to assure the brokered convention in Miami for which he has been quietly preparing this past year. See the report by Melvin H. Bernstein.

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New Nationalisms

In the Third World, political leaders of a new generation are arising whose primary concern is neither with "nation-building" nor with the ideological struggle between Communism and Western Democracy. They seek instead self-determination through the creation of new ethnic and regional communities. Robert Dickson Crane of the Hudson Institution examines the implications of this "second generation nationalism" for American and Soviet foreign policy. He shows how ignoring this force has caused us trouble in Vietnam, and he draws an interesting parallel with the communal aspirations behind the black power movement in American cities.

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Nixon on Jobs

In a special Guest Editorial Richard M. Nixon outlines his plan for creating a National Job Bank to help break the poverty cycle. He suggests the application of computer technology to match unemployed workers to suitable job vacancies.

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Tax the Polluters

Duncan Foley proposes a delightfully simple approach to the problem of air and water pollution. It doesn't involve intricate government subsidies or tax credits; it doesn't require a complex bureaucracy; it doesn't demand massive federal spending programs.

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The impact of technology and polling techniques on American politics is the subject of a book by **James M. Perry** on **The New Politics**. —16

14a ELIOT ST.

● "Resolved: That The Draft Should be Abolished and Replaced by a Professional Volunteer Army". This will be the official high school debate topic next year, and Ripon's "Politics and Conscription: A Proposal to Repeal the Draft" (FORUM, December 1966) is being reprinted by the Library of Congress in its research handbook.

● Congressman Paul M. McCloskey, who defeated Shirley Temple Black in California's 11th district last fall, stopped in Cambridge en route to Vermont for an evening

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Editorial Points

Dr. King's funeral would have been very beautiful, Jimmy Breslin wrote from Atlanta, "except that we had all been there before. There have been funerals and marches in the last five years and everything was supposed to change and nothing changed."

This time things *must* change, and Republicans, in particular, must take long overdue action to set their house in order. Since our *Election '64* report, the Ripon Society has issued a series of recommendations on race-related issues that Republican leaders have failed to implement.

The National Committee, for example, never did heed our plea that it apologize to Dr. King for fraudulently using his name to divert Negro votes from President Johnson in 1964. Nor has the Committee taken steps to insure permanent Negro representation on Republican bodies. The Democratic National Committee has assured that only integrated delegations will attend its 1968 nominating convention; the Republican National Chairman has explicitly refused to do the same. Nor have national Republican campaign organizations denied financial support to segregationist Democrats who try to use the Republican label.

The gap between the Republican Party and its Lincolnian heritage was further widened the day after the King funeral, when the House GOP leadership chose to unite with Southern Democrats to delay and weaken civil rights legislation. This coalition failed, thanks to a large minority of Republican Congressmen who refused to follow their misguided leaders. Their votes are a sign that the GOP has not completely lost touch with its traditional progressivism on the race issue.

* * * *

President Johnson's decision not to run tempts some GOP leaders to flirt with a Southern Strategy like that which brought defeat in 1960 and 1964. The prospect that the Democratic nominee will be stronger than Johnson in the North and East has now convinced some Nixon advisers, for example, that the former Vice President should pitch his basic appeal to conservative support in the South and West, even to the extent of choosing a Southern or Western conservative as his running mate.

Certainly, the way in which Mr. Nixon reached

his decision to attend the King funeral shows that he is still covering his bets in the South. Though he made a discreet private visit to Mrs. King in Memphis, he hesitated to attend the public funeral in Atlanta until his staff had called to clear the trip with John Grenier of Alabama. Mr. Grenier, the architect of Goldwater's disastrous Southern Strategy, happened to be at a local memorial service for Dr. King when the call came through, so Mr. Nixon felt perfectly free to mourn publicly in Atlanta.

Such unsolicited solicitude for Southern racial feelings spells danger for the GOP this year. Not only will it jeopardize Republican chances of picking up Congressional seats in the Northeast — the area of greatest potential gain — but it will also endanger party unity. For moderates in the Party cannot be expected to suffer quietly if a Republican presidential candidate once again adopts a strategy and a vocabulary offending both their political interests and their moral feelings.

* * * *

The ideal campaign staff, we think, would be a combination of the talents of the Rockefeller and Nixon entourages. Nixon's staff is ideally suited to the demands of a nomination campaign. By combining alert young journalists and seasoned political professionals, it provides Mr. Nixon with both the phrase-making abilities that win applause on the stump and the bargaining skills that wheedle votes in the delegate hunt. Governor Rockefeller's entourage, on the other hand, is designed to govern. Replete with diplomats, statisticians, lawyers, administrators and economists, it is eminently suited to draft workable legislation — complete with estimates of cost, financing and administrative machinery. But it is a poor vehicle for Republican politicking.

The ideal solution, short of a candidate named Nixefeller, would be some combination of the two organizations: either Mr. Nixon should win the election and then draft Rockefeller to be his Secretaries of Defense, HUD, HEW, Commerce, Transportation and Labor; or Rockefeller should, after declaring his candidacy, draft Nixon as his Campaign Manager. Ronald Reagan would be a peerless Press Secretary ("Communications Director" in California) for either man.

'THE FIERCE URGENCY OF NOW'

Many of us have been dismayed during the turbulence of the past few months by the relative incapacity of the so-called moderate or progressive wing of the Republican Party to respond meaningfully to the sudden acceleration of events. In the blur of banner headlines, from the Tet offensive to the King assassination, from the crisis in gold to the Johnson withdrawal, progressive Republicans have made only two big news events—both announcing a decision *not* to compete for the Presidency. David Broder of the *Washington Post* has recently compared the moderates' performance in 1968 to that of 1960 and 1964, a losing performance characterized by "miscalculation and timidity, lack of skill, lack of discipline and lack of strength."

This picture could quickly be changed, of course, but as this is written the mood on the Republican left is a rather bewildered one. Individual Republicans are responding to it in a variety of ways: some seize on the more promising elements in Nixon's rhetoric; others take hope from the more promising indicators of Rockefeller's potential; others just sit very still.

At a time when the nation yearns for strong leadership as it has not done since 1932, the only progressive Republican figure to stir any notable wave of emotional response is John Lindsay and the honesty which is such a large part of his appeal leads him to cynicism as well: "If they wanted to do something, then take the recommendations in the report on civil disorders and turn them into laws," he snaps after the numbing march in April from the Ebenezer Baptist Church to Morehouse College. "Let's do something realistic instead of a one-day show of conscience. But nothing'll happen. Did it ever?"

In a frustrating and difficult time it is particularly difficult to be a Republican of progressive inclinations. And the saddest part about the whole thing is that it once seemed that it might be so different.

Just last fall—it feels like years ago—the future seemed to belong to the Republican Party. It had the leaders and the momentum. There was nothing in the Democratic Party to correspond to the Lindsay success of 1965 or the success of Brooke, Percy, Hatfield and Baker in 1966. There was no Democratic counterpart to the dynamic corps of GOP Governors who were about to revitalize American politics. And the Party had powerful ideas as well: conservative and progressive Republicans alike talked excitedly about tax sharing, ending the draft, a negative income tax, the use of government to structure incentives, greater involvement of the private sector, the renewal of local and even neighborhood political initiative.

An unpopular President and his unpopular foreign policy seemed to give Republicans access to the urban voter, the black community, and intellectuals—groups with which it could build a new political coalition which would become the leading force in American politics in the last third of the twentieth century.

The Ripon Society had dreamed this dream for several years and last fall it dreamed again. And then history began to move and it passed the Republican

Party by. A whimsical Minnesota Senator who did not worship the false god of "party unity" and who was willing to take a wild political gamble emerged and led a crusade which has toppled an administration and revolutionized American politics. After the New Hampshire primary, Mark Hatfield wore a McCarthy button into the Senate chambers. Three weeks later one quarter of the Republicans in Wisconsin voted for McCarthy. In Massachusetts and California Republicans have re-registered in large numbers to do the same.

If the Republican Party is to avoid even further isolation from a changing electorate and a rising generation, it must learn to speak to the new forces that are moving in American life. Unfortunately, such language does not come naturally to most political moderates. For they have learned too well to live by a code of safety and sensibility, playing percentages and balancing values. They will change only slowly; they do not like conflict. They will not rock the boat. They are perennially optimistic.

But in a day of rapid change, when the moderate's judgment is so badly needed, his manner is often ineffective. For compelling leadership in our time may not be possible unless the leader is willing to take risks, to experiment boldly and disagree incisively.

The American people may see all this more clearly than do their present leaders; some conservatives see it more clearly than do the cautious centrists. It has been widely noted that Goldwater's lay-it-on-the-line style is a close Republican equivalent to that of Senator McCarthy whom Goldwater admires and whom many conservatives now lavishly praise. It is clear that both men have had enough of politics as usual.

So, it would appear, has another conservative Republican, Illinois Congressman John Anderson, who—in a dramatic reversal of position—made the most important speech in support of open housing in mid-April. "The best speech I've ever heard on the floor of the House," one civil rights leader said. Anderson's small daughter had another comment in the House gallery. "That's not my Daddy," she said as she listened to her father's speech. "That man's angry."

Among all of its other requirements, the Republican Party—and particularly its moderate wing—badly needs some men who are angry. For the capacity to speak meaningfully in a time of crisis cannot be contrived; it can only grow out of a feeling which Martin Luther King described so well during the March on Washington in 1963. To live and speak relevantly in our time, he said, requires that a man sense in every fiber of his being what he called "the fierce urgency of now."

But of course someone will always ask, as one Republican strategist put it to me just before King's death: "But those are just words. What do they mean?" And perhaps the best answer one can make is that which someone (was it Louis Armstrong?) gave when he was asked for a definition of jazz. "Man," he said, "if you gotta ask, you'll never know."

Many Republicans were stunned by Nelson Rockefeller's declaration of non-candidacy. Many of these same incredulous Republicans are due for another jolt — the emergence of the careful, quiet Reagan strategy formulated last spring.

The real rationale underlying Reagan's favorite son position has not been so much concealed as

THE NOMINATION GAME

GALLOPING REAGANISM

ignored by observers outside California. Henry Salvatori, millionaire conservative oilman and chief financial architect of Reagan's nomination drive, sums it up: "Nixon might get 400 to 500 delegates, but where's he going to get the rest? Rockefeller has no chance." Salvatori sees the Party, its delegates "conservatively oriented," turning to the charismatic Reagan as the compromise choice of a deadlocked convention.

Reagan's hand is a potent one should such a deadlock materialize. He holds his 1966 win of nearly 1,000,000 votes over the same Edmund G. Brown who thumped frontrunner Nixon by nearly 300,000 votes in 1962. He possesses a rare political virtue, polished television appeal, borne out by dramatic and persuasive efforts on behalf of Barry Goldwater in 1964 and on his own behalf in the 1966 gubernatorial campaign. He has F. Clifton White, the strategist who directed Goldwater to success at the 1964 convention and was retained by Salvatori early this year as a consultant to the California delegation. White already has spoken to every Republican governor as well as other national GOP leaders. His mission, says Salvatori, is to "brief the Reagan delegation on the state of affairs around the country and on the prospects for each possible nominee."

Even the logistical organization of the delegation is sharp and on schedule. Robert Walker, former executive director of the Nixon for President Committee in 1967, has been hired by the delegation as its "chief of operations." Since he set up convention headquarters for Governor Reagan at Miami Beach in March, Walker has reserved 740 hotel rooms for the 86-man California delegation.

Notwithstanding the sophisticated preparations of the Reagan camp, the Governor continued to maintain he is only a "favorite son." Even as a "favorite son" with national support and national ambitions, Reagan does have precedent for his strategy. In 1952, Governor Earl Warren's name was on the ballot in Wisconsin and Oregon while he held the California delegation as "favorite son." Interestingly Warren's "favorite son" candidacy had obtained him the vice-presidential nomination in 1948 with the top spot going to the then Governor of New York.



Szep — The Boston Globe

The stance of "favorite son" offers insulation from other Presidential contenders' attacks within Reagan's own state as well as on the national level. The principal reasons Reagan has given for his candidacy are to insure unity within the California GOP and thus to obtain commensurate influence for the second largest delegation at the convention. This "unity" rhetoric was also adopted early in 1965 by Reagan and his erstwhile Goldwater supporters who set out to consolidate a badly split Party for the 1966 gubernatorial race. While Reagan was nevertheless challenged in the primary, he won handily, and moderates dutifully lined up behind him for the general election. At Reagan's insistence, the conservatives are refraining from supporting Max Rafferty in his primary race against the liberal Republican Senator Tom Kuchel. Reagan has proclaimed "neutrality."

This picture of calm is impressive to almost any California Republican familiar with his Party's background of factional warfare. With the latest *California Poll* showing Kuchel to have significantly widened his margin over Rafferty among Republican voters, many California moderates are not prone to jeopardize this lead. Some evidence of their defensiveness may be found in the chilly reception given the Committee for a Free Delegation. The Committee's slate was committed to support "any Republican moderate" but failed to assemble the required 18,715 signatures by April 5 to get on the ballot. Composed largely of young grass roots amateurs, the slate was headed by James Wilcox, former aide to Lt. Governor Robert Finch. Wilcox is now on the payroll of an insurance company controlled by Louis Warschaw, wealthy Democratic Party leader and member of California's 1968 pro-Kennedy delegation led by Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh. More than a few Republican eyebrows were raised by the disclosure that Wilcox had not long before re-registered to support the "New Left" Peace and Freedom Party and subsequently returned to the GOP.

No prominent Republican moderate in the State would accept the leadership post finally occupied by Wilcox or affiliate openly with the "Free Choice" slate.

These individuals, whatever their private view of Reagan as presidential material, support the Reagan-Kuchel detente. Nor would any out-of-state presidential contender risk losing the opportunity to negotiate with Reagan for delegate support at the convention by challenging the Governor in his "favorite son" bailiwick.

Reagan's own delegation was carefully selected to represent diverse interests in the Party, including minority groups, but all delegates are pledged to support the Governor until released. Conservatives dominate the slate, their numbers led by such notable Goldwater backers as Salvatori, William Knowland, Leland Kaiser, Holmes Tuttle, Walter Knott, Gardiner Johnson and Ann Bowler. Leonard Ware, President of the moderate California Republican League, expressed keen disappointment at being named an alternate while Presidents of the right wing Young Republicans of California, California Republican Assembly and United Republicans of California were named full delegates. Among the noted moderates serving on the slate are Leonard Firestone, Jack Warner, Robert Finch, State Controller Houston Flournoy, and Assembly Minority Leader Robert Monagan, none of whom are in a position to act independently of Reagan at the convention. The painstaking efforts taken to insure a unified delegation and the leverage symbolized by Reagan's unexpired gubernatorial term suggest that few if any delegates are likely to desert.

SEEKING DEFECTIONS

Thus with his 86-vote home base secure, Ronald Reagan can be expected to step up efforts to encourage defections from the Nixon camp. Despite his modest showing in Wisconsin, Reagan's supporters are readying larger efforts for the approaching crucial primary of Oregon. But one must remember that the Reagan strategy does not require a win, just a good showing.

During the closing months of 1967, the Governor was a featured speaker at successful Republican fundraising affairs in Nebraska and Oregon. There were reports as far back as November when Reagan rode in a Veteran's Day parade in Oregon that he was rounding up prominent Republicans for a campaign in that state's key primary on May 28.

In the Midwest, a national Reagan for President headquarters is operating in Topeka, led by an "unauthorized" manager, savings and loan executive Henry Bubb. Despite reports of heavy financial backing by Ralph Cordiner, former Board Chairman of General Electric and Reagan's Death Valley Days mentor, the Nebraska effort of May 14 will probably be small compared with the push that is developing for the Oregon primary. Any showing in Nebraska beyond his Wisconsin tally could give the impression a Reagan boom was developing as the primaries move westward, and it is worth noting that Barry Goldwater received 49.5% of the primary vote in Nebraska in 1964.

SALVATORI'S TOUCH

Among the more liberally oriented Oregon Republicans, Reagan will be relying on another "unauthorized" campaign organization called Oregon Citizens for Reagan with Fred Van Natta as paid director. Also "unauthorized" is a "steering committee" directing the Reagan campaign which is chaired by Robert Hazen, a Portland savings and loan executive. The Reagan effort in Oregon became a full-time operation once the filing deadline of March 22 had passed and the Governor's name was on the ballot to stay. The

campaign received further impetus by Rockefeller's decision not to run in Oregon, leaving only Reagan to challenge Nixon.

The Oregon campaign so far bears the unmistakable stamp of financial whiz Salvatori, whose performance as finance chairman for Goldwater's 1964 primary in California has drawn attack from Herbert Baus and William Ross, in their book *Politics Battle Plan* recently published by Macmillan. Baus & Ross is well remembered as the PR firm that handled Goldwater's campaign in California but resigned from the account after the primary. In addition to the authors' bitter comments on Salvatori's tightfisted methods of cost control, much is revealed about his campaign theories. (An example: Salvatori even refused to buy staff executives' tickets to a \$100 a plate dinner in Los Angeles and made them pay out of their own pockets.)

TELEVISION AVALANCHES

Calling him "the genius of California financiers for conservative causes," the authors reveal that "Salvatori believed in TV, avalanches of it." His program delivered a final two weeks of television, radio and newspaper advertising that "poured out like water from a broken dam." Answering the Baus & Ross charge that Salvatori almost "strangled" the early campaign, the oilman said, "You should spend all your money toward the end of a campaign rather than early."

This strategy worked for Reagan in 1966, and Salvatori is obviously eager to try his cost cutting techniques in a national campaign. At least \$350,000 has already been earmarked for the Oregon primary with heavy reliance on television and 450,000 eight-page tabloids. At this writing, one hour of prime television time has already been booked for the evening of May 26, 1½ days before the primary. Reagan's television style will be in striking contrast to Nixon's. Judicious clips of the famous "last news conference" of 1962 are in the well prepared Reagan campaign films.

Walter Lippmann, writing recently in *Newsweek*, has pointed out that "Television is now the main source of news for a very large part of the population, and it is supplanting ordinary campaigning as a way of reaching the mass of voters . . . Television may prove to be a better way . . . than to slug it out in a few scattered primaries."

Precisely such a use of television is planned for Reagan before the Oregon primary to bolster his potential in Oregon as well as his crucial ratings in the public opinion polls. Following Clifton White's briefing of the first formal meeting of the California Presidential delegation on April 15, Reagan issued a statement that same week indicating he was "reassessing" the political situation. The Governor's staff then released his out-of-state speaking schedule for the period prior to the May 28 Oregon primary. After his April 26 appearance in Boise, the Governor is scheduled to speak in Honolulu on May 11 while attending the Western Governors Conference, touch down in a key Southern city on May 19, go to Jacksonville and Tampa on May 20, to Miami and Chicago on May 21, Cleveland May 22, and the University of Colorado at Boulder on May 27. Reagan's speeches will depart from his usual format of GOP economies achieved in California to focus on such national issues as race relations, crime in the streets, inflation and general unrest in the nation.

The Governor will be trying to mobilize grass roots support and regain the national limelight he voluntarily relinquished at the end of 1967. A successful speaking

tour could generate momentum for the Oregon primary and a corresponding improvement in the polls. Support for Nixon is thus likely to diminish perceptibly even before Reagan makes his presense felt on the Oregon ballot.

The Governor of California does not have to win in Oregon to improve his chances—even 25% of the vote would be helpful. Unopposed in his own state, he will probably amass a huge "vote of confidence," substantially in excess of a million votes, on June 4. He is likely to be aided in these efforts by Rockefeller supporters who are as eager as those of Reagan to head off Nixon and bring about a deadlocked convention. The final effect may be an erosion of the "new" Nixon's victories in 1968. If the former Vice President is denied the nomination on the first two ballots, the Reagan conservatives will be ready to thrust forward with their candidate.

— M. H. B.

NOMINATION NOTES

No Stampede to Nixon

There was a lot of talk about a stampede to Nixon developing after Romney's withdrawal. None developed. Same thing after Rocky's decision not to contest the Oregon primary (after all, as Nixon himself admitted, Rocky had already proven he could carry Oregon). The stampede this time turned out to include no one but a rather lonely Governor Walter Hickel of Alaska (who may be prepared to re-rat to Rockefeller — though, as Winston Churchill pointed out, anyone can rat, but it takes real ability to re-rat).

As for the candidate himself? Well, Mr. Nixon was kind of quiet for a month after President Johnson retired from politics. He had thought he might be able to beat Johnson. So did a lot of other people. Now LBJ is out, it's a new ball game, and Nixon knows he will have to demonstrate that his vision of the nation's future course is superior to that of his opponent. Now he cannot run against the incumbent Administration but must run for himself. Hence the silence while the Nixon team devises a new strategy.

While Nixon rethinks his strategy, others move. Reagan, Rockefeller start to speak out. Their backers organize. Lindsay becomes active in the wings. Here's what they've been doing.

Rockefeller's friends set up a national organization, headed by a brilliant industrialist, J. Irwin Miller, with a million dollar plus budget. Nearly all the former Republican National Chairmen, with the notable exception of Goldwater appointee Dean Burch (who's busy with Goldwater's Senate campaign in Arizona) joined the Rockefeller team. So did Governor Harold LeVander of Minnesota, who'd been on the fence before.

Reagan has stepped up the pace too. Harold Stassen beat him 4 to 3 in New Hampshire (if you don't believe it write the New Hampshire Secretary of State for the official figures) but, after an expensive television campaign, Reagan beat Stassen 5 to 3 in Wisconsin. Reagan will do better in Nebraska, better still in Oregon and, of course, win in California where he's alone on the ballot. Reagan knows he can't win if he's cast as "fangs Reagan, the Goldwater of '68" so he's moving left, belatedly endorsing open housing, adopting the moderate vocabulary. At the very least, all this will make him

acceptable vice presidential material to most moderates.

F. Clifton White, the political genius who engineered the Goldwater nomination, is being paid handsomely for advising Reagan. Best estimate is in the lower six-figure range, which shows that it pays to be right—wing, that is.

Lindsay hits the banquet circuit. Speaks in Oregon, Colorado, Massachusetts and other states. Quells riots in New York City by force of personality and does his homework so that, should lightning strike, he is prepared to wage an aggressive, appealing, positive national campaign.

What do the voters think of all this? To judge by the polls, they haven't yet made up their minds. Before Johnson quit, polls showed Nixon ahead — by a narrow margin. Then they went the other way. Pollster Lou Harris gave Kennedy and McCarthy a six point edge over Nixon, and Humphrey a one point edge. This poll was taken right after Rocky decided not to go in the primaries and he did poorly too — but that wasn't reported. Then some key states showed a surge to Rockefeller. A Michigan poll shows him winning there, Nixon about even and Reagan out of the running. A Florida poll shows the same thing in that state. And in California Rockefeller sweeps the field, 53-47 over Kennedy, 62-30 over Humphrey and 53-38 over McCarthy. The same poll showed Nixon a loser in California.

But some later polls were more heartening to the Nixon camp, with a good showing against Rockefeller among Massachusetts rank-and-file Republicans and a winning margin nation-wide over the three Democratic hopefuls in the April Gallup. Hence Nixon's statement in late April at Carson City, Nevada, that he had won the nomination.

But still, there is no stampede, and no reason to expect one. Nixon's popularity runs behind that of most GOP governors in their home states, and they will not risk local catcalls with an early endorsement. This gives Rockefeller and Reagan time to maneuver. To stop them Mr. Nixon will try to look more like a statesman, less like a candidate. He will even speak out on domestic issues, though he is clearly more comfortable with quips on nomination politics.

—JESSE BENTON FREMONT



Szep — The Boston Globe

ROCKEFELLER: WAITING FOR THE CALL.

TAX THE POLLUTERS

The investment tax credit enacted in 1962 has now focused everyone's attention on the possibility of cleverly designing loopholes in the tax structure to encourage socially desirable behavior. I don't think that tax credits are suited to this function, although there are a few instances where they can be effective and equitable. The extension of tax credits to businesses investing in anti-pollution equipment has some especially objectionable features.

First, it taxes those who suffer from pollution in order to pay for cleaning it up, instead of taxing those who generate pollution. A tax credit always means that the tax rates in general must be higher to raise the revenue lost. A state or federal income-tax credit for a special group means higher taxes on the population. Pollution is a widespread problem, but some activities produce more pollution than others. Automobiles, for example, contribute a lot to air pollution. Should non-drivers pay for cleaning up auto exhaust, or should drivers?

A second objection to the tax credit is that it does not increase the profit incentives for producers to reduce pollution unless the credit is so large that it is essentially bribing them to install the equipment. Through the tax credit, the government pays part of the cost of the new equipment, but the producer still pays something. As things stand anti-pollution equipment does not add a penny to sales or cut a penny from costs. This is why there is such a serious problem to begin with. The credit will be effective only if it either pays more than the cost of the equipment, or if it is combined with legal regulation that requires installation of the equipment. You may wonder why we need the tax credit if we have effective regulation.

A third objection to the tax credit-regulation approach is that it is inefficient. It applies indiscriminately to all producers within broad classes. Common sense tells us that we want to eliminate pollution first from activities generating pollution on a large scale or activities that can be cleaned up cheaply. Regulation cannot make these fine distinctions. It requires everyone to meet the set standards regardless of the balance of social costs and benefits in each individual case.

We need to remember that the tax system works both ways, but that its primary purpose is to collect money, not to give it out. What we need to do for a properly working market system is to force private producers to enter the social costs of the pollution they create into their calculation of profits. The simplest way to do this is to tax polluters for each ton of gunk they loose into the air and each gallon of glop

they pour into the water. The tax will work best if it is applied at exactly the same rates to all polluters large and small, from power plants to automobiles.

The advantages of this approach exactly parallel the disadvantages of the tax credit. It makes polluters pay for the annoyance and harm they do to society. Any individual polluter has the choice of paying the tax and continuing to pollute or of investing his own money in equipment that will reduce the dirt. If the polluter is a producer, he will pass the tax or the cost of reduced pollution along to his customers in the form of higher prices. But this is only justice, since the items produced have pollution as a real social cost which ought to be reflected in a higher price.

A tax on pollution will enlist the active cooperation of all producers because it will make pollution-control a cost-cutting proposition. The tax serves to put a price on scarce resources, our air and water. Just as the prices for other scarce resources lead people to use them as efficiently as possible, the pollution tax will lead private producers to a better balance of real costs and benefits. I tend to trust private ingenuity to find better and cheaper solutions to pollution-control when it becomes a commercial proposition to do so.

Finally, the tax will automatically induce the most socially efficient priorities in pollution control. Those facilities which can cheaply reduce their contribution to pollution will do it, while those for whom pollution-control is expensive and ineffective will pay the tax. The calculation of cost and benefit will be made at the lowest level where the greatest information is available — not by an agency in the state capital or Washington.

The obstacles to a tax of this kind are substantial. Enforcement may be difficult. For automobiles it ought to be possible to establish a simple pollution rating, depending on the age and model of the car and the number of miles driven. The tax will reduce the value of some properties when it is first introduced, but it is hard to see why this is inequitous, since, without the tax, part of the income from producing properties is, in effect, taken away from those who suffer from pollution.

There is one very attractive point. This tax will probably have a substantial yield and, unlike most other taxes, tends to reduce the distortions of choice in the market, rather than increasing them. For state governments this combination of increased economic efficiency and substantial revenue in one package ought to be very appealing. It remains to be seen whether the general welfare will prevail over the special interests. The slogan "tax the polluters" sounds pretty good.

Will Labor Go Republican?

The Republican Party in 1968 is very much a minority party. To win in 1968 and in the 1970's, the GOP must carry the city and suburban votes—we must carry the areas where the tall buildings are, because that is where the people are. The GOP must attract blocs of traditionally Democratic voters.

Traditional politicians think in terms of ethnic blocs. But, with the exception of Negroes, there is no ethnic bloc that can be appealed to permanently on the basis of a party's program. The real blocs from which a new and lasting majority coalition can be built are occupational and age groups. The leadership of Lyndon Johnson has already alienated large numbers of youth and intellectuals from the Democratic Party. What is less commonly realized, however, is that the Democrats are also losing the support of the rank-and-file union man. The organized laboring man of today is far different from his father or grandfather. He is not the child of the Depression and he is concerned with a new array of issues. This new union man can be persuaded to vote a new way different from that recommended by his union leaders.

The new breed of union man bears no resemblance to his forbear idealized in the old union songs. According to a poll taken by the Committee on Political Education (COPE) of the AFL-CIO, union families are richer, younger and more suburbanite than ever before. Thirty-two percent of them earn from \$5,000 to \$7,500 a year; 46% are in the \$7,500 to \$15,000 range. Twenty-five percent of all union members are less than 30 years old and 50% are less than 40 years of age. Nearly 75% of union members under the age of 40 live in suburban communities—50% of all union members live outside the central city. Politically, 58% of those polled labelled themselves as Democrats, 16% as Republicans, 17% as independents, and 9% said they are unsure of their political affiliation.

What does all this indicate about the thinking of the average union man? For one thing, the young suburbanite is more concerned with local issues such as zoning, property taxes and school bond issues than he

is with national issues. As the COPE poll shows, 61% of the under-30 group view economic issues as the most pressing—with the high cost of living at the top of their list. Alexander E. Barkan, Director of COPE, in an article in the August 1967 issue of the *American Federationist*, made note of a growing generation gap in the labor movement:

"Where support appears least strong generally is among younger members and more and more the trade union movement is becoming a younger movement.

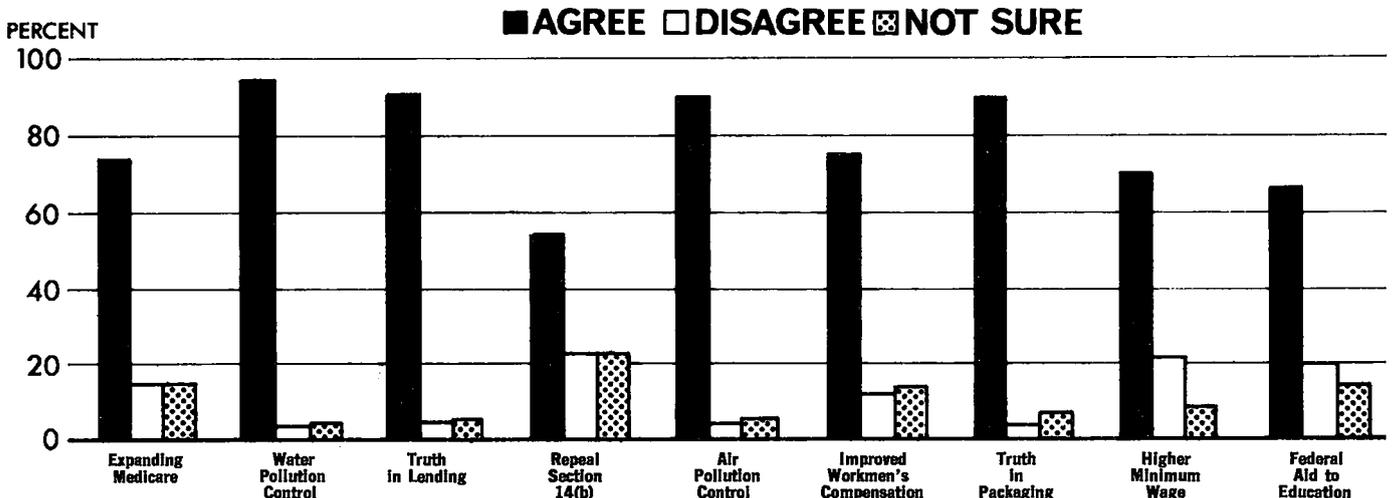
"While two-thirds of members over 30, for example said they pay a lot of attention to their union publications, only half of those under 30 do.

"It is the younger members who are both less informed and less concerned with (the) issues. The tribulations of 30 years ago are remote from a young member's experience. The Depression is a moment of history and the issues it spawned are tangential to his life or unrelated to his problems. To younger members, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was a live inspiration to many of us, is but a name in the history books and his great achievements a matter for the archives."

It is not that the younger members are apathetic or uninterested in the world around them, but rather that their concerns differ from those of their parents. They simply do not care about old labor issues. A surprising 23% of those polled, in fact, do not favor repeal of Taft-Hartley's section 14b, only 54% favor such repeal. In comparison, 94% favored controlling water pollution, with only 2% dissenting (see chart below).

Older labor leaders have not really responded to the changing emphasis of their membership and it is perhaps for this reason that one-seventh of all the contracts recommended by union negotiators meet rejection in membership votes. The old-timers have broken the Administration's proposed 3.2% guideline only to be told by their membership that even 15% is not good enough.

Because they are leaderless, the dissidents often express their frustration purely in negative terms. Thus,



HOW UNION MEMBERS VIEW THE ISSUES

while labor leadership has preached an end to Jim Crow, workers in Cleveland, Gary and Boston turned out in numbers to vote their fear of the Negro presence. While the hierarchy of organized labor remains chummy with the Administration, the political action of the membership is proving ineffective. Labor was unable to muster enough strength to change the tide in the 1966 dispute over the minimum wage and unemployment compensation issues. As one pro-labor Administration official put it: "Here was a case where labor's interest was clear, but while the opposition from small business was organizing a campaign that got over 2,000 letters a week to Congressmen on Capitol Hill, the efforts of labor in its own behalf were pitiful."

More and more, leaders of organized labor in the United States are coming to realize that they cannot depend on the Democratic Party alone to achieve their ends; that increasingly the rank-and-file union member, suburban and middle-class, does not see his future in the Democratic Party and is not willing to accept the word from the national leadership. Some indication of this has appeared in the last few years. In April of 1966, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, the fourth largest labor group in the country and third largest affiliated with the AFL-CIO, ran a two-page spread in their official publication, *The Machinist*, telling their 900,000 members what a good job six Republican Senators and twelve Republican Congressmen were doing. Entitled "For a Grand New Party," the article noted that these eighteen Republicans "are Republicans of a new breed, capable of attracting city voters. Their records are worthy of serious consideration." Pictured were Senators Thomas Kuchel, John S. Cooper, Margaret Chase Smith, Clifford Case, Jacob Javits and Hugh Scott, and Congressmen John V. Lindsay, Paul Fino, Seymour Halpern, Frank Horton, Ogden Reid, Alexander Pirnie, Robert Corbett, Joseph McDade, John Saylor, Richard Schweiker, William Ayres and Alvin O'Konski.

RUNNING SCARED

Organized labor in 1968 is running scared. Labor officials note with dismay that nearly 50 bills have been introduced in Congress that would restrict union bargaining, establish labor courts to handle major contract disputes, or otherwise impinge on union power. Yet COPE is planning to concentrate on re-electing about eight Democratic Senators whom it feels will be in for tough fights.

Unable to control the desires of their membership and unable to put effective pressure on Congress to gain support for pro-union legislation, the leaders of the AFL-CIO find themselves without an acceptable Presidential candidate. George Meany wasted no time after Johnson's melodramatic withdrawal in shifting labor's support to Hubert Humphrey—the same Hubert Humphrey whom he shunted aside in 1960 in favor of John Kennedy. But Humphrey, recent polls suggest would be a weaker standard-bearer than Kennedy or McCarthy in the November elections. His nomination, moreover, would find labor uncomfortably aligned with a Southern coalition at the convention in Chicago.

Leaders of organized labor surely remember the first Eisenhower presidential bid where their support brought Martin Durkin, head of the plumber's union, into office as Secretary of Labor. George Meany, a one-time plumber himself, should not forget this lesson of history. It just doesn't pay dividends to ignore the Republican elephant.

RFK ANATHEMA

The Democratic alternatives, moreover, give labor no reason for glee. Bobby Kennedy is anathema to many trade union leaders. Kennedy's public relations tactics during the 1959 McClellan hearings on labor corruption are not yet forgotten or forgiven. His more recent opposition to Lyndon Johnson opened fresh wounds. As for Eugene McCarthy — "Clean Eugene," as he is derisively called by union men—has not been "clean" in his barbs aimed at the offices of labor's hierarchy. His statement accusing labor leaders of "selling out for a White House dinner invitation," was not taken kindly by those same leaders.

The word among those who watch labor affairs is that labor support would divide evenly between Nixon and Kennedy if that was the lineup in November. In a Rockefeller-Kennedy battle Rockefeller would probably capture overwhelming labor support, with some dissent from the UAW and others. Should Humphrey be the Democratic nominee, labor would find itself tied to a weak candidate whose promises might be worth little come November.

Yet GOP leaders have also been backward in appreciating changes in the labor vote. Though some Republican candidates have won the support of rank-and-file union members, the party as a whole has not used Republican proposals that channel the frustrations of this segment of our population into positive action. There is no national Republican task force or committee whose sole function it is to develop and coordinate the Republican Party's positions on Labor. The Republican Party is thus losing an important opportunity to forge a powerful alliance with the labor movement, whose membership already counts. While speaking with his suburban constituency, the Republican Congressman too often forgets that these voters are also union members. An alliance cannot be formed with scattered individuals: it must be directed at institutions. The institutions are there, but they must be contacted. The Republican Party must formally contact and keep in contact with national labor officials. The young leadership will follow if they can be convinced that the GOP offers constructive alternatives to Democratic programs.

Republicans have the plans, the ideas and the programs that are attractive to the younger members of organized labor. Indicative of the fact that Republicans and labor union leaders can cooperate is the 1966 campaign for Governor waged by Nelson Rockefeller in New York. Rockefeller received better than 25 union endorsements in his battle against Democrat Frank O'Connor. The Governor also gained tacit support from the New York State Labor Federation and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, two organizations that can, traditionally, be counted in the Democratic or Liberal column.

This kind of labor support is not unheard of in other states as well. In Texas, the AFL-CIO Council has been supporting Republicans who appear before it and has let it be known that Texas labor would be warm to a Rockefeller candidacy.

A new coalition which embraces the Republican Party and organized labor can be built. The material for a constructive partnership is there. What is now needed is a recognition on both sides of the advantages to be gained.

— WILLIAM J. KILBERG

New Nationalisms

A change is taking place within the nationalist leadership of many newly independent states that profoundly challenges the "nation-building," concepts that American experts have used for analyzing the Third World.

The first generation of Third World nationalists, who succeeded European colonial rulers, were so eager to modernize their "backward" societies that they often rejected their own traditional cultures as suitable vehicles for change. They emphasized "nation-building" and borrowed their political and economic models from the centralized governments of developed countries. Today a second generation of nationalists is trying to fill the cultural vacuum by resurrecting the best from their traditions, in particular those elements that promote discipline and honesty. Their object is not to import forms of industrialism directly from the West, but to create an independent culture that can incorporate the character traits essential to modern technological society.

The new second-generation nationalists are thus critical of rigid or magical reliance on any form of economic or political order to solve problems that often are unique to each geographical area and to each society. Instead they seek the political aggregate, the method of government, and the economic methods that can best evoke the social energies necessary to sustain modernization. The new nationalists abhor the social dislocation that occurs when the leaders of a society reject traditional values, customary law and existing social fabric without providing suitable replacements. They believe that workable replacements must come naturally from traditional cultural communities rather than artificially from outside them.

This is particularly true where the political ferment motivating the new Asian and African leaders is based on their deep belief that the natural forces of community solidarity, if given a chance, rather than the disruptive force of political centralization, are the key to the economic mobilization of people below the state level.

CULTURAL BOUNDARIES Thus, whereas first generation nationalists tried to maintain central governments ruling over old colonial boundaries, the new nationalists support the creation of new political units based on the binding force of ethnic and cultural identity. Inevitably, the decline of the first-generation nationalists creates pressure for the replacement of former colonial administrative units, groupings more consistent with the ethnic and cultural boundaries. This pressure may in some cases lead directly to the breakup of first-generation states which were created without reference to natural communal bonds; in other cases it may lead to the demand for confederation, regional groupings and local autonomy within existing states; in still others, to a desire for boundary changes or for supra-state regional groupings. In all cases, the unfilled desires for communal nationalism generate severe tensions. The table on p. 12 gives some rough estimates of the deaths directly attributable to ethnic conflicts within existing states since World War II.

A few current examples will illustrate some of the strains involved. In Southeast Asia many of the rising generation of minority or communal leaders are cooperating to promote ethnic-cultural autonomy within a de-

centralized framework of confederal regionalism sometimes larger than the existing states in the area and sometimes different from the regional orientation of the existing state leaders. For example, in the Assamese portion of India, cut off from India's main South Asian landmass, the new generation of leaders is beginning to raise its vision to the subcontinental level, anticipating the Southeast Asian subcontinent as the political matrix for its own future.*

HUE-BASED VIETNAM

Even in the eastern portion of Southeast Asia, the new forces of communal modernizing nationalism are observable among the intellectual leaders of Central Vietnam. They believe that the dynamic forces necessary to assure both modernization and independence must come from the indigenous Vietnamese culture, based in Hue, rather than from the two exogenous cultures, the Communist based in Hanoi, and the American based in Saigon.

One of the leaders of the new generation of Vietnamese nationalists, Nguyen Chanh Thi, who is the only peasant to achieve the rank of general in the South Vietnamese army, has long proclaimed that only immediate and total land reform can win the war, and that the landlords will simply have to wait for eventual compensation until circumstances permit. General Thi urged his senior commanders to live and work two days a week in the villages, because otherwise, he asserted, they could not know what they were fighting for. This extremely popular Buddhist commander of I corps was removed from office and exiled in 1966 upon the recommendation of the U. S. embassy.

The new Vietnamese nationalists have repeatedly warned that the imperial nature of the Communist goals in Vietnam should not blind us to the essentially nationalist nature of the overall conflict. The power of nationalism, they believe, explains why the call for unifying the country has such great appeal to the cadres and potential cadres of the Vietcong, and why American support for the artificial split of Vietnam into two totally separate parts has evolved no enthusiastic response. The Communist propagandists have based their entire war effort on the political goal and slogan: "Defend the north, liberate the south, unify the homeland."

CONFEDERAL GOAL

The new nationalists in Vietnam, of whom General Thi and Tran Van Dinh are among the better-known spokesmen, are convinced that the peoples opposed to the Communist power in Vietnam can win only if they can adopt and pursue a similar overarching goal to liberate Vietnam from foreign influence and recreate it in a confederal union of at least three equal partners, with capitals in the central, northern, and southern regions, and perhaps one in the Montagnard region of the west, if the Montagnards should wish to join such a confederation. The union of a free Vietnam has been a key goal of all Vietnamese for more than a generation. Vietnamese nationalists have repeatedly tried to impress on American officials that the Vietnamese people will sacrifice their lives in limitless numbers if

*See the author's, "Revolutionary Regionalism in Southeast Asia: The Newest Challenge to American Policy," *The Reporter*, May 2, 1968.

they can fight for such a nationalist goal. For proof they merely point to the indomitable courage of Vietcong cadres, who fight on against seemingly insuperable odds.

General Thi and Tran Van Dinh have long represented a large body of Vietnamese professional opinion, in their insistence that most of the work of the U. S. forces in Vietnam could be accomplished by doubling the size of the South Vietnamese army. The Americans, they insist, should be restricted by a formal treaty to the interdiction of North Vietnamese regular units in South Vietnam. This would force the non-communist Vietnamese to win or lose the revolutionary struggle by themselves, thereby giving them the only chance to win it.

Although most Vietnamese nationalists are discouraged by the disastrous outcome of the current "American" phase of the conflict in Vietnam, they firmly believe that the genuine Vietnamese nationalists in concert with the nationalists in other countries, will eventually triumph against the Communists in Southeast Asia. The potential of the new Vietnamese nationalism they believe may be suggested by the success of the liberation move-

ment led by Tran Van Dinh, which in 1960 had succeeded in establishing secure base areas in large parts of North Vietnam extending all the way to the Chinese border. Some of Vietnam's most promising leaders were permanently alienated from Premier Diem, when he reluctantly abandoned the entire operation and the new revolutionary era it was supposed to inaugurate. Upon American orders, he concentrated instead on the negative and impossible goal of enforcing order against Communist insurrection in the south.

The loss of this initiative in the middle of a profound and growing political revolution throughout Vietnam was never overcome. It may be too late for a resurgence of Vietnamese nationalism to regain the initiative. But the lessons we and others can derive from past policy failures may help prevent repetitions elsewhere in Asia and Africa.

ANZANIA, BIAFRA

The new forces of nationalism are equally visible in other regions of the Third World. Perhaps the most dramatic example outside of Southeast Asia has been triggered by the growing cultural and po-

COMMUNAL-NATIONALIST FATALITIES SINCE WORLD WAR II

A. Current Conflict, Some Existing Armed Warfare

CONTINENTAL SOUTHEAST ASIA		KILODEATHS
a. Assam	Nagas, Mizos, Ahoms	100
b. Burma	Karens, Shans, Kachins	100
c. Indochina*	Non-Vietnamese (Mountain Mon-Khmer, Tai, Meo)	200
		<u>400</u>
EAST AFRICA		
a. Sudan (South)	"Anzanians"	500
b. Kenya & Ethiopia	Somalis	30
c. Burundi & Rwanda	Watusi & Bahuto	200
d. Zanzibar	Arabs	10
		<u>740</u>
WEST AFRICA		
a. Nigeria	Ibos and other "Biafrans"	100
b. Congo	Various	100
		<u>200</u>
WEST ASIA (Near East)		
a. Iraq & Environs	Kurds	150
b. Israel & West Bank	Jews & Arabs	100
c. Pakistan	Pathans	8
d. Cyprus	Turks & Greeks	2
		<u>260</u>
CHINA (Since 1950)		
a. Tibet	Khambas	35
b. Kwangsi, Yunnan	Tai (Chuang et. al.)	50
c. Sinkiang	Uighur	10
d. Inner Mongolia	Mongolians	10
		<u>105</u>
(Total Violent Deaths Since 1950: 15,000,000)		
SOUTHERN AFRICA		
	Portuguese, British & Dutch Caucasians, Indians	5
		<u>5</u>
AMERICA**		
a. Guyana	Indians, Negroes, Amerindians	5
		<u>5</u>
TOTAL		1,715

B. Conflict Currently Less Intense, Possibility of Future Armed Warfare

SOUTH ASIA		KILODEATHS
a. Kashmir	Kashmiri	200
b. India & Pakistan	Hindu & Moslem Communitals	2000
c. India	Tamils & other Minorities	20
		<u>2,220</u>
ISLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA		
a. Indonesia*	Molluccans	50
	Chinese	100
b. Malaysia	Chinese (also on continent)	10
		<u>160</u>
WEST ASIA		
a. Iran	Qasqas & others	200
		<u>200</u>
ARAB AFRICA		
a. Morocco & Algeria	Berbers	10
		<u>10</u>
BALKANS		
a. Yugoslavia	Serbs, Croats, Slovenes	10
b. Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece	Macedonians	50
c. Rumania	Hungarians	5
		<u>65</u>
EUROPE		
a. Italy	Tyroleans	0.5
b. Spain	Basque	0.5
c. Ireland	British	0.0
d. Britain	Scots, Welsh	0.0
e. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania	Germans	3,000
f. Hungary	Hungarians	6
		<u>3,007.0</u>
SOVIET UNION***	Many Nationalities	100
AMERICA		
a. Bolivia & Peru	Quechua	1
b. Hispaniola	Dominicans & Haitians	2
c. United States	Blacks (Negroes)	0.2
d. Canada	Francophones	0.0
		<u>3</u>
TOTAL:		5,765
GRAND TOTAL COMMUNAL-NATIONALIST FATALITIES:		7,480,000

*Total Violent Deaths: Vietnam-French, N. V. Purgos, N. V. Terror in South, Military & Civilian Casualties in South: 800,000

**Total Violent Deaths Since 1945: 300,000

*Total Violent Deaths Since 1945: 1,000,000

**Total Violent Deaths Since 1917: 90,000,000

litical consciousness of the black population in the southern section of Arab-dominated Sudan. In Arabic their land has long been called "The Land of Slaves," but the blacks have changed the name to "Anzania," after an ancient East African empire. The independence struggle of this predominantly Christian people has cost them an estimated half-million lives since the first bloodbath in 1955, or one-eighth their total population. Even with American aid, the Arab Sudanese are now expending more than a quarter of their total national budget to suppress the newly conscious "Anzanian" nation.

Some of these Anzanians seem to fight without hope, in accordance with Winston Churchill's dictum: "You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to persist than to live as slaves." Others have a vision of their future in an East African regional polity rather than in an Arab world of the Mediterranean. They maintain hope, because they are convinced that some day artificial states like the Sudan and regional groupings based upon them will no longer be considered as the beginning of a new post-colonial future, but merely as an artificial projection of a colonial past.

Potentially more tragic is the military suppression of Nigeria's most talented Christian tribes by the Federal Government in Lagos. The Ibos and related tribes from Eastern Nigeria formed the mainstay of the professional and merchant classes in Northern Nigeria before pogroms were carried out against them by the Muslim inhabitants. Perhaps a million refugees fled to their homeland in Eastern Nigeria. The Eastern Region, with some 12 million inhabitants, demanded a larger measure of autonomy from Lagos and compensation for the refugees. When the Federal Government reneged on promises to grant these demands, the Easterners declared their region the independent Republic of Biafra. They have since been fighting for their survival against Federal forces armed by both the Soviets and the British. The meagerly armed Biafrans have suffered about 100,000 civilian casualties at the hands of Federal troops but have made it clear that they will continue to fight until they are assured a measure of self-determination. The attempt to crush them can only result in civilian slaughter, exhaustion of the Federal treasury, and a reputation for genocide that will severely damage the name of Nigeria.

Communal nationalism and the revolutionary regionalism that accompanies it pose a dilemma both for the United States and for the Soviet Union. This new nationalism should appeal to the United States because its basic economic goal is responsible modernization. Its basic cultural goal is evolutionary traditionalism, and its basic political goal is the self-determination of peoples. It should appeal to the Soviet Union because its basic political methodology by necessity is revolution. The combination of the above characteristics, however, has made the new nationalism unacceptable to either the United States or the Soviet Union. Americans tend to assume that revolutionary groups, of whatever nature, are influenced or controlled by Communists. The Soviets tend to assume that traditionalism, until proved otherwise, is merely a reactionary reversion to an outdated capitalist or feudal order.

SOVIET DILEMMA

The Soviet problem is particularly acute, because the Soviets themselves are intellectually akin to the first-generation nationalists. Their own state was built by the violent suppression of communal nationalism and a brutal drive toward monolithic centralized power.

Although the Soviets, unlike the Chinese, are already, and perhaps rapidly, moving into the stage of second-generation nationalism, their foreign policy still retains its stake in helping first-generation colonial movements fill the vacuum left by the departing colonial powers. The Soviets see second-generation nationalism as a major threat to their efforts to remake the world in their own desired image. Only a major modification of Soviet domestic and foreign policy would permit the Soviets genuinely to support the new nationalism in Asia and Africa. By supporting existing power structures in the Third World the Soviets may be aligning themselves not with the wave of the future but with a hang-over from the imperial era.

The age of empires required large political aggregates designed above all for efficient economic administration in a world economy in which each power tended toward an autarky. The shift of the basic unit of economic growth toward smaller political aggregates, if combined with the growth of economic macro-regionalism in a more cooperative world economy, works against the continued existence of any empires based on first-generation nationalism. During the present century, this development may prove decisive in destroying perhaps unworkable Third World empires, such as India, or in preventing the implementation of others, such as Nkrumah's dreamed-of African empire. Over the long run, the growth of the new communal nationalism may result in the transformation even of such Second World empires as the Soviet Union and Communist China.

AMERICAN CHALLENGE

For the United States, the new nationalism should present a welcome challenge, because it enables us to perceive important forces in our own society as well as in the Third World. We were more fortunate than many states in Asia and Africa, because after independence the United States did not have a major problem of intergrating previously entrenched cultural groups, but had merely to integrate individual immigrants already alienated from one culture and ready for another. We therefore were able to build one of the world's model nation-states, where the state is based on a cohesive nation and the nation is coextensive with the state.

Very recently, the growing cultural and political consciousness of the blacks in our society has created a new problem of incipient communal nationalism that cannot be solved by territorial adjustments as it can in many African and Asian states. We should welcome the responsible elements of communal group loyalty among the blacks within our society, because this new communal loyalty gives us, both blacks and whites, the opportunity to demonstrate how a genuinely and deliberately pluralist society can accept communal pride and channel it into a positive force for modernization through self-help.

The real challenge to U. S. policy, therefore, is not the existence of a new nationalism in Asia and Africa, nor its counterpart among the responsible black leaders in our own country, but the myth that such natural communal forces need pose a dilemma.

We pride ourselves on being a non-ideological, problem-solving people devoted to democratic self-determination. We should therefore be first to understand the new nationalist forces at work in the world in this revolutionary era. — ROBERT DICKSON CRANE

Mr. Crane, a research fellow of the Hudson Institute, has travelled extensively in Asia and Africa.

JEFFERSON AND THE GOP

Admittedly, the Young Republicans of Caledonia County, Vermont, have made no signal contribution to America. Neither have those of Lyndon State College (!), located within that county. But on April 6 these hitherto inconspicuous organizations combined to sponsor an event which might eventually have a far-reaching impact on the Republican Party.

The event was a celebration of the anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's birth (which actually falls on April 13). Its significance—aside from the fact that practically no one observes Jefferson's birthday any more—was that it was sponsored not by Democrats, but by Republicans.

The theme of the occasion was set forth in the initial press release as follows:

"Traditionally the Democratic Party has tried to claim Thomas Jefferson as its philosophical founder. We Republicans are holding this Jefferson Day dinner to emphasize the fact that the Republican Party was formed in the 1850's precisely because the Democrats had lost sight of the principles of Jefferson, particularly his revulsion at human slavery. And today, the Jeffersonian principles of individual liberty, faith in the common man, the unhampered pursuit of happiness and local self-government have been abandoned by the leadership of the Democratic Party."

Not only was this theme unusual for the modern Republican Party, but the format was unusual—intellectually oriented addresses on various topics relating to Jefferson and Republicanism. A Lyndon State history professor, who had studied under Jefferson's great biographer Dumas Malone at the University of Virginia, spoke on "Jefferson's Philosophy of Government," dwelling on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Northwest Ordinance, the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom and the Kentucky Resolutions. Another professor, also a Republican State legislator and President of the Vermont Historical Society, spoke on "Jefferson and the Founders of the present Republican Party," discussing the influence of Jefferson's thought on the men who founded the GOP in the 1850's.

"Jefferson and Lincoln" was the subject of a third talk, given by a young teacher from East Burke, Vermont. In it he outlined Lincoln's debt to Jefferson, and his use of Jefferson's ideas in making his case against the spread of slavery to the territories. The final talk, by another Lyndon State faculty member, dwelt on "Jefferson and the Republican Party of Today."

This last topic is perhaps of most interest. As the concluding speaker put it, "Can this cultured Virginia aristocrat, this preacher of agrarian virtue, this opponent of bigness and centralized power, this man who, like Washington, eschewed foreign entanglements—can this man teach us—both as Republicans and as Americans—how to chart our course through the

troubled waters of the urban crisis, a world in flames, a nation which has grown in magnitude and complexity beyond the musings of his most melancholy moments?" The answer was yes, and the prescription five-fold.

First, Republicans must pledge, in the spirit of Jefferson, to restore the central government to its proper role, redistributing power whenever possible to the local levels of government. Decentralization of governmental activity, in the interest of self-government, of liberty, and even of efficiency, is a platform on which every Republican of 1968 should be proud to stand.

Second, Republicans must pledge to restore decency, integrity and honor to the conduct of national affairs. "Nothing is so mistaken as is the supposition," said Jefferson, "that a person is to extricate himself from a difficulty by intrigue, by chicanery, by dissimulation, by trimming, by an untruth, by an injustice." Republicans must once again elect a President about whom parents can say to their children, "I hope and pray you will grow up to be like the President of the United States."

Third, Republicans must not fear to restore to the nation Jefferson's abiding faith in the common man. Jefferson's dream was of a nation of freeholders, owning a tangible stake in America, their self-government accompanied by the general diffusion of knowledge. The Republican Party of Lincoln carried forth that dream with the Homestead Act, the Morrill Land Grant College Act, and the 13th Amendment. The lessons to today's Republicans, in the fields of education, of expanding the ownership of America's wealth and property, and of assuring equal rights and opportunities to all, are easy to discern.

Fourth, Republicans must recapture the Jeffersonian vision of the American Mission—not to colonize the earth, but to encourage free government by aid and example. He sought a world of justice, law and order and a foreign policy founded on principle, not expediency. These goals, sought diligently by the last Republican Administration, have receded in the past five years. We need to pursue them with renewed vitality.

Fifth, Republicans must become the guardians of individual liberty—not merely the liberty to dispose of one's property as one sees fit, but particularly the liberty of thought, of speech, of press, of assembly, of dissent.

As the history of this nation unfolds, first one Party, then the other, is entrusted with fostering the rebirth of the Jeffersonian vision of America. It is again the Republican Party's turn. This was the principal message of the Caledonia County, Vermont Jefferson Day celebration. Republicans across the country would do well to ponder its implications.

A Springtime Ramble

Since Mrs. Meyer has done my job by finding a book on current politics to review this month, I started to look through recent periodical issues to see if something might be made of the attempts of Americans to explain their country to each other in magazine articles. The search turns over rich soil. Political pamphleteering died long ago in America, yet the art remains surprisingly vital in respectable periodicals. They furnish material for a massive chapter in the biography of the American mind. For the impression one gets above the usual clatter of embattled orthodoxies is one of a far more important intellectual struggle that is taking place between minds that are fluid and minds that are frozen.

Look for instance at the article on Dean Rusk in the April *Esquire*, a magazine that despite its irritating habit of trivializing grave problems is at least never out of fashion. And the fashion now is to depict, not unjustly, the biggest cheeses of the current Administration as irrevocably solidified minds. Dean Rusk, as the exemplar, gets into *Esquire*, but the impression is general that one important if dubious achievement of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations was to transform a set of adventurous ideas into crippling orthodoxies through men like Rusk.

Here were all these admirable professors, foundation heads and ex-assistant secretaries of state languishing unheard throughout eight Eisenhower years. Having nothing else to do, they spelled out their own challenges to Republican orthodoxy. If they began to repeat themselves — how often, remember, did they impress us with the necessity of counter-insurgency force and flexible response to replace the madness of massive retaliation — it was because they were deprived of the chance to test their ideas against reality through the exercise of power. Who suspected then that theories formed in 1947 and untested since depended on a view of the world which in the interim had become a fiction? Or that the men holding power had come to cherish this fictional view so dearly that their minds would remake the world into a laboratory in which all their experiments must seem to succeed whether they did or not? Yet that is what happened, and the articles in *Esquire* show that everyone has become aware of it.

Thus the revelations of Professor James C. Thomson, Jr., a brilliant State Department aide during the formation of Vietnam policy, in the April *Atlantic Monthly*, came not as surprises but as melancholy confirmation of what we knew. In "How Could Vietnam Happen?", Mr. Thomson shows how old and tired minds like Rusk's, ingeniously coupled with an inept body of East Asia experts left over from the McCarthy purges, froze U.S. Asia policy into a pattern to which young men, "a new breed of military strategists and academic social scientists" had nothing to contribute but technique. He shows how a Democratic Administration committed to fluidity when it took power, ended by trying to make a repeatedly disappointing laboratory experiment into the supreme test of American will.

As Mr. Thomson points out, President Johnson guaranteed the inflexibility of his Vietnam policy by billing it as the supreme test of American will. In-

stead of firing the ministers who had failed, he implicated the whole country in their failure. A pervasive tendency was thereby encouraged, that of criticizing not only policies but the ancient and hitherto respectable premises behind them.

GNAWING SKEPTICS

Attacks on the doctrines that became the Johnsonian orthodoxy have been numerous and, for the most part, hysterical in recent periodical literature. Here and there, though, appears a skeptic busily gnawing away in a manner that prefigures hordes of deadly termites. One such is Philip Green, author of an article on "Science, Government, and the case of RAND" in the January *World Politics*. Green's piece, a long review of a book about the RAND Corporation, is really an arrow in the heart of one of the favorite tenets of the ruling faith; that it is easy to use independent sources of advice (such as RAND) to build a diversity of alternatives into the decision-making process. More generally, the credo has it that monolithic statism is impossible in America because the elites with access to power are competitive. It is clear that Kennedy belived this: he is famous for having "built conflict" into advice that came to his desk.

Green acknowledges a certain degree of pluralism in our government; he is not a vulgar conspiracy theorist. He just points out, as does Mr. Thomson indirectly, that in most cases these conflicting sources of advice happen to share the same general political perspectives, particularly about matters of foreign policy. Indeed if they did not they would largely be ignored. RAND is famous for its contribution of new techniques to military strategy. "But it is not enough," Green says, "to say naively that a new method is a contribution; surely we want to know to whom and to what purposes it contributes . . . There is no invisible hand; power is what people make of it, and RAND has helped strengthen one kind of power in American society." This is good stuff. It help to clear the air of hypocrisy by showing real pluralism does not exist except where political perspectives differ, where the differing ones have access to people with power, and where the powerful are disposed to take them seriously. There is no need for a conspiracy when everyone thinks the same way. It is another argument of fluidity of mind against the present freeze.

LIBERAL DOCTRINES

If a freeze carries beyond its normal life into late spring, the ice does not thaw but shakes the earth with the thunder of heavens and splits. The superannuated survival of the liberal reform doctrines of the 1950's has had just that effect; at least in the magazines, dissatisfied writers have seen their America cracking apart. They have imparted a sense of the Apocalypse. Men like Andrew Kopkind in the *New York Book Review of Books* have even put in bids to become one of the Four Horsemen. Johnson's resignation somewhat muted the Apocalyptic note, but it is still there.

It was, I thought, caught exactly by Norman Mailer's remarkable articles in *Harper's* and *Commentary* ("The Battle of the Pentagon" and "The Steps of the Pentagon."). Being one of those who felt that the march on the Pentagon was politically pointless, I was struck by Mailer's beautifully written account of what must have been the true import of that march for those who were there. The President in one sense succeeded; he did embody a significant amount of American will in his Vietnam policy; and the march, Mailer shows, was

the meeting of that will with another, and became "a rite of passage for these tender drug-vitiated jargon-mired children." Spoiled offspring of upper-middle parents were beaten, and saw their friends, mostly girls, beaten; and thus suffered under that experience a transfiguration that will not let them allow the older America to survive.

Mailer concludes in the metaphors of the Second Coming that the country is about to be reborn, and wonders if it will be as a rough beast or lovely child. "Brood on that country who expresses our will." I cannot tell you why this strange refraction of America through Norman Mailer's ego should convey a powerful impression of truth, but it does.

The intellectual challenges to frozen minds, whether they come as the earthquake of the Apocalypse or as premonitions of a thaw, should quicken the blood of liberal Republicans. So much free space has been cleared for them to occupy. It will not be occupied by Republicans on the right. Read for instance John McClaughry's entertaining "Look Backward from 1976" a piece on the 1968 election in the current *Harvard Review*. McClaughry's fantasy has Goldwater realizing that the aims of the Black Power movement (private initiative, self-help and so forth) are the same as his own, and making common cause with them. The bitter irony of this fancy is that an open-minded Goldwater would doubtless realize just that. The one we have probably wouldn't. Some Republicans are still tempted to replace the old orthodoxies of liberal Democrats with older orthodoxies of their own.

Is Nixon one of these? It is hard to say. Gary Wills' "What Makes the New Nixon Run?" in the current *Esquire* supplies some matter for speculation. After reading Wills' article you couldn't call Nixon's mind frozen exactly — it changes too often for that — yet it does not seem to possess the possibility of growth that is the best characteristic of flexibility. Murray Kempton once described a Nixon speech in 1960 as cross-breeding the 1948 A.D.A. and the collected works of Jane Addams. Nixon's ideas don't develop; they are whipped by the wind from one dogma to another. As Wills says, he does his homework; each dogma is backed by reading. But from that you can conclude, either he would mold a new consensus from new doctrines and give America relief or he would crack apart under the strains of conflicting advice. He will remain enigmatic unless he gets the power he has never really exercised.

FRESH WINDS At present the freshest winds of doctrine don't seem to have reached him. Among the more interesting of these is summarized in Richard Goodwin's article in last June's *Commentary*. Mr. Goodwin helps to resurrect some of the old Republican confidence in decentralization of political and corporate institutions to develop the individual's sense of mastery. Robert Levine in the current *Public Interest* echoes this need for institutional reform by advocating the abandonment of social strategies requiring complex and detailed administration (like the National Recovery Act, Price Control, welfare, and public housing) and taking up the simpler devices of social legislation. Incentives must be structured so that people make decisions for themselves in their own best interests, but the result comes out as a net increment to the social good. Policies like money allowances to people who move where their skills are needed and guaranteed minimum income are examples.

In the current issue of the *New Republic*, Christopher Jencks provides a valuable report on a study by Peter

Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan valuable because the study, *The American Occupational Structure*, is virtually unreadable itself. If what the study reports is true, mobility in America although considerable, has been stable for fifty years. Negroes have been exceptions to all the rules of mobility; they have always gotten less for their efforts than whites, even poor whites. There seems little prospect of increasing mobility. Social innovators, Jencks concludes, ought therefore to stop concentrating on policies that make it easier for people to run the American race, and make the race itself easier, by trying to diminish differences in power, prestige and income among occupations.

None of these general ideas has yet been worked out in detail. Yet the fact that they exist, and are sold in respectable markets of ideas by serious men, means the end of the old orthodoxies. In the subsoil, new life is stirring, not the Beast of the Apocalypse or the virgin-born Hero, but a swarm of small and interesting creatures bent on reordering our society.

—ROBERT W. GORDON

BOOKS

New Politics

Does the old order change? Can an unknown, unattractive, untested, or unoriginal candidate win an election? Can an organization sell a candidate as well as it can sell aspirin? James M. Perry says yes, if the candidate utilizes all the new techniques for market-research, television aids, electronic data processing and the old stand-by, direct mail.*

The new mobility, affluence and education of American society has effectively destroyed the age-old Party loyalties, ward bosses, and precinct strengths that used to control elections. To fill the vacuum, professional campaign managers move in with computers, the pollsters, the ad agency and the campaign agency.

James Perry traces the new phenomena from their early beginnings in California. Around 1933 when the organized Party structures had been successfully undermined by Governor Hiram Johnson's reforms, Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter joined forces in a professional firm to manage campaigns. Their byword was, "If you can't put on a fight put on a show," and they won 70 of the 75 campaigns they managed.

Perry then records more recent examples. He devotes full chapters to Joseph Napolitan's management of the Shapp campaign in Pennsylvania, to Nelson Rockefeller's TV techniques in New York state, and to the Lindsay campaign in New York City. A chapter on the use of public opinion polls cites the Michigan experience of George Romney and his scholar-technician Walter DeVries. These polls enabled the candidate to know beforehand the primary concern of the group he was addressing and key his remarks to appeal to that concern. With this aid, the Romney organization was able to successfully portray Soapy Williams as a far-left candidate, elect Robert Griffin and sweep five incumbent Democrats out of office, replacing them with comparatively unknown Republicans.

To illustrate the use of data processing, Perry describes how Winthrop Rockefeller created, almost single-handedly, a Republican Party in Arkansas. Rockefeller's computer located potential Republican voters

**The New Politics. The Expanding Technology of Political Manipulation* by James M. Perry; Clarkson N. Potter, Inc. New York; 230 pages, \$4.95

and wrote and signed letters to them. It located special interest groups and sent signed Christmas cards to each voter mentioning particular issues that vitally interested him.

Of course, not every candidate is rich enough to rent his own computer, hire his own ad agency, or pay for his own polls. Does this new technology for electing a candidate automatically eliminate the poor man? Does it further destroy Party lines and hierarchy? Mr. Perry feels that current trends point in these directions.

Certainly, every would-be candidate should read this book. And although the writing is spotty, and constant references to future chapters are at times annoying, any interested voter would find Mr. Perry's book a handy aid in interpreting the new campaign approaches that will be tried on the American public in this election year.

—VIRGINIA L. MEYER

STATE BY STATE

Georgia: at the King funeral

Christopher DeMuth, Secretary of the Cambridge/Boston Chapter, was Ripon's representative at the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King in Atlanta. His report follows:

The day began early in Atlanta. At seven thirty many of the homeowners around Morehouse College were up sweeping their front walks and curbs. By nine o'clock there were ten thousand people standing in front of Ebenezer Baptist Church; they filled an adjoining vacant lot and the street for a block in every direction. The crowd was quiet and generally well-dressed, and there were cameras everywhere, men with Polaroids, women with Instamatics, and journalists with Nikons. Then, as later, there were few whites to be seen, less than one in ten, it seemed, and most appeared to be ministers, reporters, and students. Local newspapers reported that the downtown and non-black neighborhoods were practically deserted all day: Atlanta whites were staying in their homes.

The crowd grew rapidly. By ten-thirty, when the service was about to start, it stretched out for over a mile — In the area in front of the church the crush of bodies had become intolerable. Southern Christian Leadership Conference volunteers tried to keep the crowd back, invoking, as they would throughout the day, Dr. King's memory to gain people's cooperation. But when the celebrities began to appear, especially Wilt Chamberlain and Mrs. John F. Kennedy, the crowd pushed forward, silently, unconsciously, but dangerously, until it reached the church doors. Amidst much confusion, those with tickets were finally admitted and the doors closed. When the church service began, everyone in the crowd grew silent, listening to the prayers and hymns from a thousand portable radios. For what seemed like the hundredth time in a week, King's rich voice filled the air, ". . . Say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace. I was a drum major for righteousness . . ."

A group of people began marching off down Jackson Street singing "We Shall Overcome", the first group to

depart for the four-mile march to Morehouse College; many followed, and soon the parade was several blocks long, and the area in front of the church was clear again. Suddenly the final hymn came over the radios, the church doors opened and there was the coffin being lifted onto a rude green mule cart by the pallbearers. Jesse Jackson wore the same suede coat and green turtle-neck he had been wearing the night before and six other of King's young lieutenants were all in rough denim clothes. Right behind was Dr. King's widow, glorious and indomitable in her grief; and as she stepped out into the sunlight and began the procession behind her husband's bier the crowd stood back and cameras were forgotten.

The sad Ebenezer congregation poured out and followed the King family at a respectful distance. Next came the scores of celebrities, most of them, especially the politicians, looking stern and unrelaxed. Wilt Chamberlain stood out because of his height and Congressman Dan Riegle because of his blondness. When Robert Kennedy appeared cameras were remembered, and the chatter of shutters followed him as far as he marched. James Brown and Floyd Patterson tried to ignore the flurry of outstretched young hands as they walked, but both eventually stopped and greeted their admirers briefly.

When the celebrities were past, the remaining crowd fell into line for the long march or headed for cars. 2½ hours later, at 3, everyone had reassembled on the Morehouse campus for the final memorial service.

The crowd at Morehouse was enormous, easily over 100,000 people. Morehouse has a large campus, with acres of open space facing the main building where a podium had been erected; yet one moved about only with great difficulty, and only a few found enough room to sit on the grass and rest after the long tiring march in the hot (80°) sun. Prayers and hymns began long before everyone had arrived, and by the time the official service began, the heat and the crush of the bodies was so great that women were fainting everywhere and one was continually making way for men with stretchers and drums of water.

At the start of the service Reverend Abernathy, who was presiding, asked Senator Robert Kennedy to come to the podium and there was scattered applause, but many people said: "No", "quiet", "Hey, this is a funeral," and it stopped. Somebody whispered to Abernathy during the following prayer, and when it was over he invited *all* senators and governors to the podium, naming those he could see seated in front and referring to Senator Brooke as "Senator Brookes". Nixon, Rockefeller, Lindsay, Brooke, Romney and Javits were seen briefly at the rear of the platform but soon returned to their seats, except for Lindsay who had apparently met some friends (who were black), and who remained on the podium with them throughout the service.

The service began over an hour late, and the Reverend Abernathy announced that much of the service—tributes from Atlanta's Mayor Tate and other dignitaries — would be cut. Prayers were given by various local clergy, and a short eulogy was delivered by Benjamin Mays, who had been President of Morehouse when King was a student there. The eulogy drew the first vocal response from the audience of the afternoon, as Mays compared King to Christ and Ghandi, and compared his love and bravery with the hatred and cowardice he inspired in so many Americans. The crowd's response reached its height when he declared, ". . . the American people are

in part responsible for Martin Luther King's death. The assassin heard enough condemnation of King and Negroes to feel that he had public support. He knew that there were millions of people in the United States who wished that King was dead." A nerve was touched and Mays paused a moment as people offered their emphatic agreement, revival-style, in murmurs and shouts.

Mahalia Jackson closed the service with an emotion-charged spiritual. Standing in an uncomfortable crowd on a hot day is not conducive to displays of sorrow, and there had been few up to this point, but as Miss Jackson sang women followed her with their lips and many wept and cried out sadly. Then the SCLC lieutenants gathered grimly around the coffin, those on the podium joined arms and sang "We Shall Overcome" one final time, and the service was over. The bier was rushed off to the cemetery and the crowd began to break up, slowly and wearily, for homes, train stations and the airport. By nightfall the campus was again empty and silent.

Illinois: no peace pipe in the gubernatorial race

All is quiet around the Republican campfires in this state, but there is *no* peace pipe being offered between the two major factions. With the primary only two months away, the race between Altdorfer and Ogilvie for the gubernatorial nomination is mostly being carried out behind the scenes with name-calling and threats of withheld patronage. In the coming weeks, this unpleasantness should work its way into the public campaign. There is a heightening danger that the gubernatorial primary may leave wounds similar to those left after the vitriolic 1964 primary in this state between downstate politicians and the Young Republican "syndicate elders."

In Presidential politics there are no apparent factions vying for control of the Illinois Republican delegation. There does exist a strong Nixon Committee headed by Superintendent of Public Instruction Ray Page, the highest elected Republican state official, and William Reutschler, a man with political ambition and often referred to as a friend of Senator Percy. The withdrawal of Governor Rockefeller from Oregon only encouraged the Nixon supporters in this state to consider moving their convention votes to the first ballot, bypassing Senator Charles Percy's favorite son position. ● Illinois' 24-man Congressional delegation is evenly divided 12 to 12 between Republican's and Democrats, making it a target state for both parties in case the presidential election is thrown into the House of Representatives. Republicans have an opportunity to gain as many as four seats while facing no serious challenges to any of their incumbents. In the marginal downstate 23rd District and the 3rd District in Chicago, the Republicans field moderate candidates who can pick off the incumbent Democrats.

In Chicago's 5th and 11th Districts, (normally Democratic and now strongly anti-Negro areas), Republicans regretfully resort to exploitation of the backlash to run against the incumbent Polish Democratic Congressmen. One of these GOP gentlemen, State Senator Joseph J. Krasowski, has declared that he is not against the Negro as long as he knows his place and stays there; he calls for the overruling of the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decisions. As of now the downstate 23rd offers the best chance of a GOP gain.

Kansas: east-west split

Most Republican leaders in the state are standing pat on national candidates. The current plan is to go to the convention to nominate retiring Senator Frank Carlson as "favorite son." This allows Kansans to pay proper tribute to Carlson and also allows the delegates room to maneuver at the convention after the first ballot. It is difficult at this time to judge second ballot sentiment but it seems likely that most delegates will favor Richard Nixon. There is *some* interest in Reagan, particularly among Republicans from the more conservative western and southern parts of the state. Henry Bubb of Kansas is National Coordinator for the Draft Reagan movement.

A Rockefeller committee was formed in the Fall of 1967 and drew some response to its efforts at the traditional Republican Day meetings in January.

On March 20 former Congressman and Governor Bill Avery announced his candidacy for the Senate seat being vacated by Frank Carlson. Avery offered a Vietnam proposal which calls for a UN truce supervision in Vietnam while the principals negotiate. In general, he insists that America must solve her own problems first before attempting to solve those of others.

Avery's only current opponent is conservative and hawkish Congressman Bob Dole who has strong support in the western and southern regions of Kansas. As has happened so often in the past, a major campaign will be waged between moderates from the east and conservatives from the west. This *could* split the Party again. From this standpoint it is fortunate that the convention delegation is pledged to Carlson.

Ohio: three Congressmen who cared

A Presidential address and an assassin's bullet halted normal political activities in Ohio. Leaders stopped to reconsider their response to some explosive challenges at home and abroad.

One response came from three Ohio Republican Representatives. Congressmen William M. McCulloch (Fourth District), Robert Taft, Jr. (First District) and Charles W. Whalen (Third District) joined eighteen of their Republican colleagues in a call for prompt House approval of the Senate's civil rights bill. Their signatures appeared on a letter that urged every House member to vote for an unamended version of the Civil Rights Act recently passed by the Senate. This Republican bloc hoped to scotch Minority Leader Gerald Ford's request for a House-Senate conference to consider the bill. Authors of this letter believed that sufficient votes existed to pass the bill, and they wished to protect from any major editing those clauses pertaining to open housing.

Taft, Whalen and McCulloch represent a wing of their party that directs itself to urban issues. Considered a Republican expert on civil rights legislation, William M. McCulloch of Piqua was an architect of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and he recently served on President Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Besides his efforts on behalf of pending civil rights legislation, Congressman Whalen of Dayton wrote Ohio's Fair Housing Law of 1965.

With a record of support for various civil right bills, Robert Taft, Jr. also works to solve urban problems like air pollution, public transportation and crime. A current

issue of *Battle Line*, a publication of the American Conservative Union, featured an article that attacked Taft's liberalism. In this same article, the author rebuked a "leftist" trend among Republican leaders of Ohio. ACU chief John M. Ashbrook would be foolish to lose any sleep worrying about a socialistic Ohio GOP, but rural Toryism does appear to face some opposition from this state's urban-oriented Republicans.

Richard M. Nixon visited Cincinnati two days after LBJ's withdrawal from this year's Presidential competition. The former Vice President and Governor James A. Rhodes greeted each other at a Republican Women's Federation with an admirable display of political finesse. After discounting their compliments to one another, journalists concluded that Rhodes did not wish to climb aboard Nixon's band-wagon this early in such an unpredictable year. Nixon undoubtedly offered the Governor some tempting bait—like a cabinet post or possibly a Vice Presidential berth—in return for Ohio's fifty-eight delegates.

Ohio's Democratic party stands in disarray after a month of bizarre events. The party's delegation at Chicago will include various factions. With LBJ out of contention, a contest between Kennedy and Humphrey seems to be evolving.

Senator Eugene McCarthy's strong showings in New Hampshire and Wisconsin failed to impress this state's Democratic professionals. Forces for McCarthy must win their delegates in certain contested districts on May 7, as his organization's back-room influence appears to be

nil. The Minnesota Senator draws his Ohio support from students and professional people with no previous experience in politics who rallied behind McCarthy's Vietnam position.

A contest between Senator Frank J. Lausche and Cincinnati Councilman John J. Gilligan for their party's nomination for Senator resembles a model that a political science professor might construct to show differences between conservatism and liberalism. Lausche worries about gold and fiscal integrity while he takes a hawkish stance on Vietnam. Gilligan calls for mammoth Federal expenditures for health, education and welfare programs while he talks about de-escalating the war. Early polls reveal that Lausche will win, and defections from Gilligan's camp may indicate a desire to desert a doomed cause. Since he must handily carry Ohio's Negro vote in order to offset Lausche's strength among independent voters, Gilligan may have been dealt a death blow by the decision of Negro Mayor Carl Stokes to remain neutral.

LBJ's withdrawal removed one issue that Lausche's workers effectively exploited. The Senator was called a loyal Democrat because of his support of the war, while Gilligan was labelled a rebel because of his disenchantment with current Vietnam policies. Once Johnson removed himself from the Presidential race, Lausche's backers indicated that they favored a Draft Johnson movement or a swing to Hubert Humphrey. Most of Gilligan's lieutenants lean toward Robert Kennedy's candidacy.

Massachusetts: the Kennedyification of Governor John Volpe

John A. Volpe has been trotting around the globe and the nation campaigning for a Nixon-Volpe ticket in 1968. The Governor's argument runs something like this: to win the presidential election the GOP will have to lure traditionally Democratic voters. What better block to court than the nation's ten million Italian Americans, who are mostly Democrats concentrated in the nation's urban centers. Volpe won in Massachusetts by bringing Italian voters into the Republican column. His ability to do the same for Richard M. Nixon would be a very tangible asset.

Hence Volpe is behaving like the John F. Kennedy of 1956, circulating a memo that boasts of his ability to deliver an ethnic block vote to the national ticket.

The Kennedyification of the Massachusetts governor has not gone unnoticed by Szep (see right). But Massachusetts is not Nixon country, and Volpe's outright support of Nixon will probably cost him good will that Senator Edward Brooke (an avowed Rockefeller supporter) will pick up. Massachusetts Republicans know that a Nixon nomination will ruin their hopes of increasing their already pitiful representation in the State Legislature. Without Volpe's influence 30 out of the state's 34 convention delegates would go for Rockefeller. Volpe may move 18 of these over to Nixon.



Connecticut: in research, the nuts and bolts are ready

The Republican National Committee's recent research conference at New Haven bore the unmistakable imprint of the Bliss image for technical proficiency. But there was something missing: a sense of direction and a willingness to face the issues.

Attended by a cross-section of party personnel from east of the Mississippi, the conference featured excellent presentations on the "nuts and bolts" of political campaigning, including the latest techniques in the use of election statistics, electronic data processing, polling and advertising. It was clear that an infusion of youthful technical staffers and a passion for grass roots competence was putting the RNC in fine shape for the 1968 elections. There was little doubt that, by all technical criteria, the GOP national effort will be far superior to that of the atrophied and factionalized Democratic National Committee.

Although the National Committee's nuts and bolts proved in good repair, there were occasions during the weekend when the assembled party workers could see that nuts and bolts have value only when they are the components of a vehicle that is going somewhere.

The first such instance was an illuminating talk by Professor Alan Dozeman of the University of Connecticut on voting behavior. There the grim statistical picture was sketched: for the Democrats to elect a President they merely need to keep their ducks in line, but if the Republicans are to win they must attract legions of Independents and Democrats. No one mentioned the name Rockefeller but everyone saw the point.

A more dramatic collision with reality came the evening of March 31 when TV sets were rolled out after dinner and the group watched LBJ deprive the GOP of its main asset in the coming elections — his own candidacy. The night's subsequent program was scratched in favor of an impromptu discussion of the consequences of the President's move. Out of the lively exchange emerged something of a consensus.

It was agreed that the party was left in an unenviable position. Already subject to a virtual news blackout by the lively primary battle within the Democratic Party, the GOP was now left in the shade on the vital issue of Vietnam as well, since its only active candidate had backed himself into a position of support for a policy largely repudiated by its maker. On the other crucial issues the Republican stance had come to be just as irrelevant, with Republican homilies being ignored by a press and public more interested in the flashy sloganeering and specific pledges of the Democratic contenders.

What was needed, it was agreed, was another candidate. Not necessarily a particular candidate, but any candidate who could promise new interest to the campaign, give relevance to the rhetoric and assure victory in November. The sentiment was not to stop Nixon but to start making the party and the voters think about how the GOP should respond to the volatile and violent America of 1968.

There were several indications during the weekend proceedings, however, that the technically oriented National Committee staff would be happy to leave the dialogue to the Democrats. As a result, one disgruntled young party worker left the conference saying, "it all looks so good on the surface, but they're just out of touch. We're always one lap behind."

Political Calendar

(compiled from materials supplied by the
Republican National Committee)

June

- 1 **ALASKA:** Filing deadline for state and local candidates for August 27 primary.
MISSISSIPPI: State convention.
- 4 **CALIFORNIA:** Presidential primary (1964 results: Goldwater 51.4%, Rockefeller 48.6%).
MISSISSIPPI: State primary.
MONTANA: State primary.
NEW JERSEY: Presidential primary (1964 results: write-ins; Lodge 40%, Goldwater 24.8%, Nixon 23.2%).
OREGON: Republican National Convention Arrangements and Rules Committees; Portland-Hilton, Portland.
SOUTH DAKOTA: Presidential primary (1964 results: unpledged 68.1%, Goldwater 31.9%).
- 5 **OREGON:** Republican National Committee Meeting; Portland-Hilton, Portland.
- 6 **TENNESSEE:** Filing deadline for state and local candidates for August 1 primary.
- 8 **COLORADO:** State convention.
MARYLAND: State convention.
VIRGINIA: Voter registration deadline for July 9 primary.
- 11 **ILLINOIS:** Presidential primary. (1964 results: Goldwater 62.0%, Senator Margaret Chase Smith 25.3%).
SOUTH CAROLINA: State primary.
TEXAS: State convention.
- 12 **UTAH:** State convention. Lasts through June 13.
- 13 **MINNESOTA:** State convention. Lasts through June 15.
- 14 **CONNECTICUT:** State convention. Lasts through June 15.
IDAHO: State convention. Lasts through June 15.
LOUISIANA: State convention.
OKLAHOMA: Republican Governors' Association Meeting; Camelot Inn, Tulsa. Lasts through June 15.
- 15 **NORTH DAKOTA:** State convention.
- 17 **INDIANA:** State convention. Lasts through June 18.
MAINE: State primary.
- 18 **MICHIGAN:** Candidate filing deadline for August 6 primary.
NEW YORK: State primary.
- 20 **KANSAS:** Filing deadline for state and local candidates in August 6 primary.
D.C.: Republican Congressional Committee Candidates Seminar; Marriott Twin Bridge Motel; lasts through June 23.
- 21 **LOUISIANA:** Candidate filing deadline for August 17 primary.
MONTANA: State convention. Lasts through June 23.
- 22 **NEW MEXICO:** State convention.
- 23 **ALABAMA:** State convention.
IDAHO: State convention.
- 29 **ARKANSAS:** State Committee meeting.
MISSOURI: State convention.
- 30 **IOWA:** Filing deadline for state candidates in September 3 primary.

New York: political tangle in the Silk Stocking District

A primary fight has begun in New York's "Silk Stocking" District. Congressman Theodore R. Kaufman announced that he would not seek re-election to the Seventeenth Congressional District seat to which he was elected in 1966, when it was vacated by John V. Lindsay. Assemblyman S. William Green announced that he would seek the nomination. Green's candidacy was promptly backed by the Metropolitan Republican Club, where Lindsay began his political career.

There has been sentiment in the community and in political circles that Kupferman, although a man of unquestionable intelligence, lacked the drive to adequately fill the vacancy left by the Mayor. First elected in a special election in early 1966, Kupferman squeaked by Democrat Orin Lehman by a mere 919 votes; against former State Senator Jerome Wilson, his margin was only 2,158 votes. The latter race was the 1966 general election in which Governor Nelson Rockefeller carried the district by better than two-to-one. Lindsay's last victory margin had been about 90,000.

Green, on the other hand, won a five-way primary fight in 1964, going on to win his seat in that year, and the two following years by wider margins. He is considered one of the best men in the Legislature, especially well informed on urban problems. Green's base is strong—the sole district in Manhattan manned by a unified Republican machine.

Several days after the announcement of Green's candidacy, State Senator Whitney North Seymour, Jr. announced that he would seek the Congressional nomination. His credentials are similar to Green's; a lawyer with a well-known firm, an excellent reputation in Albany, sponsor of Lindsay bills in the Republican Senate. Seymour may have an edge as a speaker, as he is more relaxed. The leaders of the Seventeenth District endorsed Seymour by a one-sided vote (he thus becomes the county organization candidate). They also approved Roy Goodman, New York City Finance Administrator, for the State Senate seat vacated by Seymour.

Allied with the Green faction, is Assemblyman John Burns, and the organization of a segment of his district. Burns received the endorsement of his own club, the Lincoln, and, for a short period, of the Metropolitan Republican Club for Seymour's State Senate seat.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Metropolitan organization, a loyalist faction succeeded in revoking the endorsement of Burns in favor of Goodman, a former president of the club, and a former treasurer of the New York County Republican Committee. Goodman pleaded that he had been on vacation and thus had been unable to ask for the club's support when it first acted.

Members of the organization were treated to a session the likes of which are rare in Manhattan Republican precincts. There was absolutely no ideological struggle involved. It was simply a fight for power within a political party that has achieved extraordinary success in an area that is no longer heavily Republican.

The irony is that many Lindsayites (including the irrepressible Thomas P. F. Hoving, erstwhile Parks Commissioner and Director of the Metropolitan Mu-

seum) were rallying to the support of the Seymour-Goodman ticket, and in effect to the cause of Vincent Albano, County Leader. Lindsay and Albano have crossed swords before in this district, but true to his pledge of neutrality in local Republican feuds, the Mayor is remaining aloof.

Whatever the result of the June 18 primary, the Republican Candidate will be an able, progressive legislator. However, the outcome of the political tangle may not be clear for quite some time.

Maine: warm political weather

Arrival of warm weather in this northern New England State is being accompanied by a corresponding increase in the political temperature. With no gubernatorial or US Senate elections, all the heat is being generated in the Presidential and Congressional kitchens.

Richard Nixon has yet to announce a state campaign chairman, although months earlier his camp had approached Maine Republican leaders for recommendations. Among the leaders supporting his candidacy are Party Chairman Cyril Joly of Waterville, Goldwater manager in 1964, and National Committeeman David Nichols of Lincolnville. Co-chairman of the Rockefeller for President effort are Robert Marden, a politically attractive young Waterville attorney and retired President of the State Senate, and Ralph "Bud" Brooks of Yarmouth, ex-state senator and insurance agent.

A March poll taken by State Republican Party Headquarters in Augusta through its newsletter indicated over 60% of the 1000 subscribers to its newsletter who returned a coupon ballot favored Nixon, as compared to 30% for Rockefeller and 10% for Reagan. Party regulars who subscribe to the newsletter tend to be pro-Nixon because of his long record of fund-raising assistance.

The State Republican Convention meeting in Bangor on May 10-11 elects the 14 delegates to the National Convention. Only isolated efforts were made to influence municipal caucus choice of delegates to the State Convention. The result: a healthy, wide-open State Convention for choosing the 14 Maine delegates. A significant related decision by the State Committee in March is that no party leaders will "automatically" be delegates. One added note on the state convention—there is a non-political factor which may appeal to the Maine delegates to the National Convention. If Rocky wins, coastal Northeast Harbor will become a Summer White House. (Rockefeller was born in Maine and has returned each summer).

● Actor, peace candidate and recently converted Democrat Gary Merrill from Cape Elizabeth and Falmouth is reading poetry but not making any friends among regular Republicans, in his campaign for the First District (Portland, Augusta, Rockland) Congressional nomination. Certain winner is State Senator Horace Hildreth of Falmouth, son of a former Governor and one of the brightest stars on the GOP horizon.

Democratic incumbent Peter Kyros who has shown misgivings about the war during his term has primary opposition from Biddeford's wealthy Plato Truman, a Vietnam hawk. Truman began an effort to make his name a household reference with a saturation photo billboard effort beginning in February. The caption reads simply "I'm Plato Truman."

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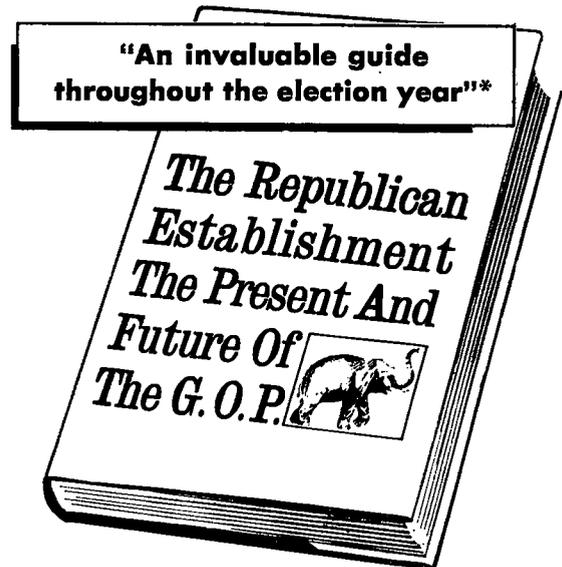
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with Ripon members. The discussion ranged from the academic (the need for new tax structures for city and local governments) to the political (the conundrums of California politics and the executive performance of you-know-who). Guests and hosts found many common areas of interest and agreement.

● William Rusher, Publisher of the *National Review*, a journal of opinion and humor, was in Cambridge in early April and had an off-the-record luncheon with a few Ripon leaders. Afterwards he spoke at an MIT political scienc seminar of ex-Ripon president Jack Saloma and disclosed his formula for 1968: 'Reagan for President, Percy for Vice-President, Nixon for Secretary of State, and Rockefeller for the man who put it all together.'

● As this issue goes to press, the National Governing Board of the Ripon Society will be meeting in Cambridge. New Chapters in Chicago, Dallas, Boston and Seattle will apply for status, Ripon's finances will be examined, and the problems of our upward spiraling growth will be reviewed.

● Several members of the New Haven Chapter attended the Republican National Committee's Research Conference in early April. Their report on the conference and on the informal discussion of presidential politics that occurred after the regular sessions adjourned appears on page 20.

● When President Johnson declared a partial halt to bombing of North Vietnam, he seized on a proposal first put forth by Professor Roger Fisher in a Ripon symposium a year ago this month. The proposal was then elaborated in a statement on 'scaled deescalation' by eight GOP Congressmen in July 1967 and was finally endorsed by the Ripon Society National Governing Board in its Vietnam paper last September. This proposal and many others not yet tried by the Administration are contained in the *Realities of Vietnam*, this month's Ripon Forum Book Club selection. Use the form on page 22 to order.

● When the FORUM began publication four years ago this month, it was on ratty mimeograph paper, and Mr. William Buckley was able to joke that Ripon was a one-man mimeo machine. So we changed to pink paper, and that occasioned no end of snide comment from the right. Then we turned to yellow and this was thought to be litmus proof that GOP moderates were chicken-hearted. So this month and next we change to ivory. We float.

● A word of thanks to those many readers who have sent in the names of prospective subscribers to the Ripon FORUM. The names will enable Ripon to increase its readership; the returns will be plowed back into making a better FORUM.

LETTERS

LIMITED STRIKES

Dear Sirs:

I have read with interest Mr. William J. Kilberg's article on "Limiting Public Strikes" (FORUM, March 1968).

Mr. Kilberg's analysis of the problems involving unions in the public sector is good and, in many respects, goes to the heart of the issues. However, I cannot completely accept his position that the contest is a political issue rather than an economic one.

I think the remedy he proposes of "little" strikes certainly would be unworkable as these strikes would soon deteriorate into full-blown strikes if bargaining did not proceed in any satisfactory fashion. This is not meant to be a complete criticism of his proposal but is the primary objection which occurs to me at first reading.

My own position is—and I might add almost all of my colleagues disagree—that some form of compulsory binding arbitration should be workable. I know this has been said many times and has even been tried, but perhaps there is some way of choosing the panel so that the workers, who are the least economically powerful, could obtain in such a panel some kind of balancing advantage.

DAVID SCHUKIN
Dressmaker's Union Local 22
New York City

BLACK POWER

Dear Sirs:

I took one look at the March RIPON FORUM and said, "Wow!" Should we Republicans back Black Power? You're darned right we should. Black Power is the most refreshing thing in America since that band of wild-eyed nuts in Ripon, Wisconsin began the Republican Party. It even beats the Ripon Society. And, man, that is about one centimeter this side of impossible. In his book, *Black Power and Urban Unrest*, Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr. points to the Chinese character for "crisis." It is the combination of "danger/opportunity." This, in my opinion, is what Black Power represents for the GOP. Apparently you, Howard Reiter, John McClaughry and (I think) Congressional candidate Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr. agree.

The Democrats cannot meet the danger or the opportunity of Black Power. They still want to spend lots of money and exercise lots of bureaucratic white power. The Wallacites just want to "mow 'em down." And the Peace & Freedom/New Politics thing is too weak to play anything but gadfly. That leaves us Republicans. With the kind of thought and action described in "Neighborhood Power and the GOP," we can face, accept and work with Black Power. And, in so doing, we can transform the tired and decrepit Grand Old Party into a Generator Of Progress for America.

Black Power, Brother! Neighborhood Power, too!

J. TED DAVIS
Los Angeles, California

MULTILATERAL AID

Dear Sirs:

I read with interest the piece on multilateral aid in the January 1968 FORUM. It is certainly fine to point out how meager development assistance is, and how self-defeating hard loan terms are. (The latter is one of the major unrecognized problems of the aid business.) It is also quite justifiable to join the push to multilateralism; but I do object to treating it as a panacea.

My criticism is basically this: Some US interests in a foreign country are necessarily bilateral. Shifting economic funds to a multilateral organization does not mean the end of bilateral political or economic interests. Some of these interests will continue to exist; others will shift to the multilateral form. And it seems illusory to suppose that if aid-giving countries channeled their assistance through multilateral institutions, the latter would long remain "free from the taint of power politics."

Another aspect of multilateralism not noted in the article is that so long as it is financed by the developed countries, the donating institution is likely to take—from the developing countries' points of view—just as inflexible a stance on political stability and on the desire to protect private investment as a bilateral donor. There is in the article an—unwitting?—example of the World Bank insisting on private ownership at the same time the United States Export-Import Bank was seeking public ownership. I also wonder if the World Bank's view of stability and decency would be any less conservative than that of the United States.

I also object to belaboring the aid program for its past shortcomings. I think most US aid administrators would now agree that gradually increasing multilateral aid is advisable but that multilateralism in itself is not the promised land. A current example of US multilateralism is Indonesia; don't give the Dutch all the credit for that consortium.

Finally, I find the attempts to pull in the ogre of Vietnam rather puerile; there is no revelant parallel. I regard it far from sound to assume that bilateral aid leads to imprudent political and military commitments, and not the reverse.

FRANK E. SAMUEL, JR.
Washington, D. C.

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THE NATIONAL JOB BANK

Today, many of our people are enveloped in a vicious cycle of poverty. Because they do not have a good education, they cannot get a good job. Because they cannot get a good job, they cannot afford decent housing. Because they live in slum housing, they find it difficult to establish a sound and stable home for their children. And their children go to inferior schools, which insures the perpetuation and expansion of the cycle.

The cycle must be broken at every point—jobs, education, and housing.

In the long run quality education is the most important factor in my view. But even if we were to transform our educational system overnight, the result of the miracle would not be felt for years—for education, by its very nature, is a time-consuming process that proceeds and builds in logical steps. Moreover, for two-thirds of the poor, days of basic education have passed, and their future must not be coldly sacrificed on the altar of future generations.

Decent housing is vital; but housing alone can never resolve the basic conditions of ignorance, joblessness and despair. And we delude ourselves if we think that we can reverse cause and effect. Decent housing—and furniture and clothing and food and entertainment—are the products of a good education and good jobs, not the reverse.

What is needed now, and what can be provided now, is the dignity and satisfaction of working for a living and earning the money that will give a person the economic power to buy the things that make for a decent home and a good life.

What can we do to make it possible for more people to hold productive jobs?

We know that there are three requirements for a man to be productively employed. First, he must be qualified for the job; second, the job must be available; but third, he must know about the job. Thus far, we have concentrated on the first two conditions, which is certainly not wrong, but we have failed to place adequate emphasis upon the third. It is in this area I believe that rapid progress can be made, and it is to this area that this modest proposal addresses itself.

In our concern to create job opportunities and to train people, we have largely ignored the problem of communication about jobs. Today, tens of thousands of jobs are going begging because people qualified for those jobs are not aware of them. The information gap in job hunting has become a chasm and we can do something to close it.

I propose that we use existing computer technology to match the unemployed with available jobs—to match the qualifications of a job-seeker anywhere in the country with a job opening anywhere in the country.

Such computer job-matching systems have been used for years in industry to match professional workers to professional job opportunities. Harvard students have had a good measure of success in matching male and female on both a temporary and permanent basis through the use of computers. There seems to me to be no real barrier to using computers to match those seeking entry level jobs to the jobs available.

How would it work? One approach would be to establish a major computer center in this country with scores of branches in the depressed sections of our cities. The branch offices would be easily accessible to anyone who wanted to work.

A person could walk in off the street and give all the essential facts to a computer operator—what kind of training he had, what kind of educational background he had, in what area he wanted to work, whether he could move to a new area, what kind of income he needed, how many hours he could work. This information would then be fed into the computer which would have been previously stockpiled with the job opportunities in private industry and business, in non-profit organizations and in government.

The computer could then provide the applicant with a print-out of the opportunities available in the community, the city, the state and even the nation. The purpose would thus be to expand his range of job options, to expand his freedom of choice.

The computer could also be programmed with the training opportunities available anywhere in the country from government and business and industry.

As our experience with computer job-matching grew, I can envisage a time when we could program the computer to provide people with information about the available services of which they are now unaware. These supportive services would include legal aid, medical aid, economic help and training and social and spiritual counseling.

The program is feasible. The National Association of Manufacturers has developed a demonstration model and is now working on a pilot project in North Carolina which is expected to be operative on a state-wide basis by the end of the year. Building on what has been done, the time has now come to implement such a system on a nation-wide basis—to put computer technology to work resolving a part of the complex crisis that faces us today.